

**THE SPEECHES OF CHINA'S REPRESENTATIVE  
AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL**

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**CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON THE  
PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN**



**Supplement to Vol. II, No. 12  
December 16, 1950**

**Index for Volume Two**

## THE SPEECHES OF CHINA'S REPRESENTATIVE AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL

*We reproduce here the full texts of the two speeches delivered by Wu Hsiu-chuan, representative of the People's Republic of China, at the Security Council of the United Nations on Nov. 28 and Nov. 30 respectively. In his first speech, Representative Wu charged the United States with armed aggression against Taiwan, the territory of China, and introduced the following proposals:*

1. That the U.N. Security Council openly condemn, and take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the U.S. Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and armed intervention in Korea;

2. That the U.N. Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the U.S. Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured;

3. That the U.N. Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the U.S. and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

*In the second speech, Representative Wu denounced U.S. representative Austin for evading a reply to China's just accusation and attempting to side-track the issue with the so-called "complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea."*

### The First Speech

Mr. President, Members of the Security Council:

On the instructions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here, in the name of the 475 million people of China, to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan—including the Penghu Islands. I wish to invite the attention of the members of the Security Council to this fact. This is my concrete mission here. I have brought with me the original text of the telegraphic reply dated November 11 to Secretary-General Lie from Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government of China Chou En-lai. At the end of that cable it is stated:

"In view of the gravity of the two questions of armed intervention in Korea and aggression against Chinese Taiwan by the United States Government, and in view of the fact that the two questions are closely related, it would be most proper that the Security Council combine the discussion of the accusation raised by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against armed aggression on Taiwan by the United States Government and the discussion of the question of armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government, so that the representative of the People's Republic of China, when attending the meetings of the Security Council to discuss the

'complaint against armed aggression on Taiwan,' may raise, at the same time, the accusation against armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government."

But Item B on the Agenda of the Security Council is not in conformity with the wording of the cable of Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government. There is not the slightest resemblance between these two, and for this reason the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will of course not participate in the discussion of Item B of the Agenda, the so-called "complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea." Now I shall continue with the substance of my speech.

This charge brought by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, of aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government, should have been lodged by the delegate to the Security Council of the People's Republic of China as a permanent member of the Security Council. But owing to the manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China have been, and are still being, excluded from the United Nations. Therefore, I must first of all protest to the United Nations for allowing even to this day the so-called "delegate" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique to sit unashamedly here in our midst, professing to

be representing the Chinese people. Members of the Security Council, this is a state of affairs that the Chinese people cannot possibly tolerate.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, on the occasion of the establishment of the government on October 1, 1949, solemnly declared to the whole world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government to represent all the people of China. The tremendous achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past year in military, economic, political and cultural construction have eloquently proved to the world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, which opposes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, has long ceased to exist on the mainland of China. In the more than four years of war since the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique launched the full-scale civil war in July, 1946, with the support of the United States Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has annihilated Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary armies totalling 8,070,000 men and liberated all the territories of China except for Tibet and Taiwan. During the past year, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has united the whole people in various walks of life, has established local governments of all levels throughout the country and has effectively controlled the mainland of China. The Central People's Government, as a government of all China, is unprecedented in Chinese history in that it is unified, stable and supported by the people. Even the enemy of the Chinese people cannot but admit this fact.

Furthermore, the Kuomintang reactionary government has long since collapsed and ceased to exist. Even its remnant elements have also been driven out of the mainland of China by the Chinese people. At present, it is only owing to the armed protection of the United States that they are maintaining their precarious existence in Taiwan. But they have long been renounced by the Chinese people and have no longer any grounds, *de jure* or *de facto*, to represent the Chinese people. The so-called "delegates" to the United Nations of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are nothing but the personal tools of a handful of fugitive elements that will soon be entirely eliminated. They have no qualifications whatsoever to represent the Chinese people.

Since November 15, 1949, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly demanded that the United Nations expel the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant

clique from all the organs and meetings of the United Nations and admit the delegates of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. But until now, in spite of the vigorous support of the U.S.S.R. and other countries for the seating of the delegates of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the affirmative votes of 16 member states of the United Nations, namely, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Burma, Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Byelo-Russia, the Ukraine, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Norway—yet, owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the United Nations still refuses to admit our lawful delegates. As a result, the so-called "delegates" of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still sitting on the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. Against this, we cannot but lodge a grave protest.

Members of the Security Council: I would like to remind you that so long as the United Nations persists in denying admittance to a permanent member of the Security Council who represents 475 million people, it cannot make lawful decisions on any major issues or solve any major problems, particularly those which concern Asia. Indeed, without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, representing 475 million people, the United Nations cannot, in practice, be worthy of its name. Without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have no reason to recognize any resolutions or decisions of the United Nations.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I once more demand that the United Nations expel the so-called "delegates" of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique and admit the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China.

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Members of the Security Council will recall that Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, on August 24, lodged with the United Nations Security Council a charge that the United States Government had committed armed aggression against China's territory Taiwan. But the United States Government used every means to obstruct the discussion by the Security Council of this just accusation. It was only owing to the righteous stand of the Soviet delegate who was president of the Security Council during August and to the support of other countries that the charge by the People's Republic of China against United States armed aggression in Taiwan has now been placed on the agenda of the Security Council, although, because of the



opposition of the United States, it was given its present imperfect form as the "complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan (Formosa)."

After instigating the puppet government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea to start civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States made a statement on June 27, this year, declaring that the United States Government had decided to prevent by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, United States armed forces, on the orders of President Truman, began the full-scale, open invasion of Taiwan to carry out the policy of the United States Government of preventing by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in a statement issued on June 28, 1950, pointed out that the June 27 statement by President Truman of the United States together with the actions of the United States armed forces constituted armed aggression on Chinese territory and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. The Chinese people cannot tolerate such barbaric, illegal and criminal acts of aggression by the United States Government.

Members of the Security Council: The case for the charge filed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the United States Government is irrefutable.

People of common sense know that Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. Long before Christopher Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already in Taiwan. Long before the United States achieved its independence, Taiwan had already become an inseparable part of the territory of China. Precisely because of this irrevocable historical fact that Taiwan is China's territory, civilized nations of the world have never conceded that the occupation of Taiwan by imperialist Japan during the 50-year period from 1895 to 1945 was justifiable. Moreover, the people of Taiwan have always opposed the rule of Japanese imperialism. During the 50 years under Japanese imperialist rule, the people in Taiwan lived like beasts of burden and underwent all the sufferings of a subject people. But, during these 50 years, the people in Taiwan had never ceased conducting a dauntless struggle against the alien rule of Japanese imperialism and for their return to the motherland. In their heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism, the people in Taiwan have written with blood and fire into the pages of history that they are a member of the great family of the Chinese nation. Even the White

Paper, "United States' Relations with China," compiled by the United States Department of State, has to admit:

"The native population for 50 years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and therefore welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation, the principal hope of the people had been reunion with the mainland," (*United States' Relations with China*, P. 308).

Precisely because Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, the Cairo Declaration, jointly signed on December 1, 1943, by the Governments of China, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, explicitly stipulated that "it is their (the Three Great Powers') purpose. . . that all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Taiwan is an integral part of China. This is not only an unshakable historical fact, but also one of the main aims for which the Chinese people unitedly fought against imperialist Japan. This aim was reflected in the above-mentioned Cairo Declaration. Moreover, the Cairo Declaration is a solemn international commitment which the United States Government has pledged itself to observe. As one of the principal provisions concerning the unconditional surrender of Japan, this solemn international commitment was again laid down in the Potsdam Declaration which was jointly signed on July 26, 1945, by China, the United States and Great Britain, and which was subsequently adhered to by the Soviet Union. Section 8 of the Potsdam Declaration states:

"The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the Islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine."

On September 2, 1945, Japan signed the instruments of surrender, the first article of which explicitly provided that Japan accept the "provisions in the Declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on July 26, 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." When the Chinese Government accepted the surrender of the Japanese armed forces in Taiwan and exercised sovereignty over the island, Taiwan became, not only *de jure*, but also *de facto*, an inalienable part of Chinese territory. And this has been the situation as regards Taiwan since 1945. Hence, during the five post-war years from 1945 to June 27, 1950, no one ever questioned the fact that Taiwan, *de jure* or *de facto*, is an inseparable part of Chinese territory.

This state of affairs was so clear that even President Truman of the United States could not but admit on January 5, 1950:

"In the Joint Declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China.

"The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The Provisions of this Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender. . . .

"For the past four years, the United States and the Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

"The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory . . . nor does it have any intention of utilising its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China."

That is to say, even President Truman admitted that Taiwan is Chinese territory.

Thus, it can be seen that there is no room for the slightest doubt that Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. Nevertheless, the United States Government had the audacity to declare its decision to use armed force to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and to dispatch its armed forces in a large-scale, open invasion of Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council: The fact that the United States has used armed forces to invade Taiwan requires no investigation, because the United States Government itself has openly admitted this fact. In announcing the afore-mentioned decision, President Truman first ordered the United States 7th Fleet to invade our territorial waters around Taiwan. Since then, the United States Government has never denied the fact that the United States 7th Fleet invaded Chinese territory Taiwan. The United States armed forces have not only invaded Chinese territory Taiwan, but have also violated China's territorial waters and territorial air along our coastline, conducting active reconnaissance and patrols. According to a dispatch filed by the New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent at Taipei on July 24, "The Fleet has a beat extending from Swatow in South China to Tsingtao in North China, 1,000-mile coastline . . ." At the same time, the United

States Government has never denied the invasion of Taiwan by the United States 13th Air Force. These United States naval and air units which invaded Taiwan, jointly with the United States aggression forces in Korea, have extended and are still extending their acts of aggression beyond Taiwan to the territorial waters and territorial air of China's mainland. I shall deal further with these facts later.

Having declared and put into operation the policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, President Truman sent General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States armed forces in the Far East, to Taiwan to confer clandestinely with Chiang Kai-shek on concrete measures for using Taiwan as a base to wage war against the Chinese people. MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek decided that the land, naval and air forces of the United States and those of Chiang Kai-shek should be placed under the unified command of MacArthur for the "joint defence" of Taiwan. On his departure from Taiwan for Japan on August 1, MacArthur openly declared: "Arrangements have been completed for effective co-ordination between the American forces under my command and those of the Chinese Government (the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique)." And this is what Chiang Kai-shek said: "Agreement has been reached between General MacArthur and myself on all the problems discussed in the series of conferences held in the past two days. The foundation for a joint defence of Formosa and for Sino-American military co-operation has thus been laid." In league with its puppet, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, the United States Government, which has invaded and occupied Taiwan, thus casts the gauntlet of war before the Chinese people.

Long before June 27, this year, the United States Government, through its puppet, had already carried out all kinds of aggressive activities against Taiwan, including acts of armed aggression. Now, of course, the United States Government is even more reckless than ever. The United States 13th Air Force has already established an "advanced command headquarters in Formosa" (according to a Taipei broadcast on August 10), which is operating at the air force headquarters of the Kuomintang bogus regime (according to a broadcast from Taipei on August 7). The United States 7th Fleet has set up a "naval liaison staff" in Taiwan (according to a Taipei United Press dispatch datelined July 24). In order to facilitate unified command of its naval and air aggression forces in Taiwan, the United States Government sent there an official military mission, named "the United States Far East Command Survey Group



in Formosa." This "survey group" was reportedly recalled to Japan on October 3 and to all appearances seemed to have been disbanded. But everyone knows that this is nothing but an attempt to delude on the part of the United States Government. The United States armed forces, their commanding officers and military command posts are still there in Taiwan!

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. The invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States Government constitutes an act of open, direct armed aggression against China by the United States Government.

There is not the slightest justification for the United States Government's invasion and occupation of Taiwan. Yet the United States Government had somehow to find a "justification" for the aggression. Thus we have the story that "the status of Taiwan is not yet determined," and that, therefore, the armed occupation of Taiwan by the United States cannot be regarded as invasion and occupation of Chinese territory by the United States. Is not this a "justification"? Did not President Truman declare at the time of issuing the order for armed aggression against Taiwan that "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations"?

Let us first deal with the question of the status of Taiwan and the peace treaty with Japan. Does it hold water to say that, since the status of Taiwan is not yet determined, the invasion of Taiwan by United States armed forces constitutes no aggression against China? No, it does not. Here we have, in the first place, the Truman of January 5, 1950, contradicting the Truman of June 27, 1950. On January 5, this year, Truman stated: "The United States and the other allied powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island." Surely, at that time, Mr. Truman did not consider that the peace treaty with Japan had already been signed! Then, we have President Roosevelt contradicting Truman. On December 1, 1943, President Roosevelt solemnly declared in the Cairo Declaration that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." Surely, neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else, at that time, consider that, in the absence of a peace treaty with Japan, the Cairo Declaration would be invalid and that Manchuria, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would remain in the possession of Japan! The facts of history over the past several centuries, and the situation during the five years since the surrender of Japan

also go to contradict Truman, because the facts of history and the situation after the Japanese surrender have long determined the status of Taiwan as an integral part of China. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago; there is no such question as that of Taiwan's status.

Article 107 of the United Nations Charter clearly provides: "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorised as a result of that war by the governments having responsibility for such action." Therefore, the United Nations has absolutely no right to alter the status of Taiwan, the less so as the question of the status of Taiwan does not exist. President Truman of the United States declared that the so-called question of the status of Taiwan must await consideration by the United Nations. After the People's Republic of China had charged the United States with armed aggression against Taiwan before the United Nations, the United States Government indicated that it would welcome consideration and investigation by the United Nations in regard to the question of Taiwan. The United States representative at the Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly introduced the so-called "question of Formosa" and made use of its voting machine in the General Assembly to put this matter on the agenda. All these moves of the United States Government aim at stealing the name of the United Nations to legalise its illegal acts of armed aggression against Taiwan and to consolidate its actual occupation of Taiwan. My government has protested in strong terms to the United Nations General Assembly, resolutely opposing the inclusion of the so-called "question of Formosa" concerning the status of Taiwan on the agenda of the General Assembly; whatever decision the United Nations General Assembly may take on the so-called question of the status of Taiwan—whether it be turning over the island to the United States to administer openly under the disguise of "trusteeship" or "neutralisation," or whether it be procrastinating by the way of "investigation," thereby maintaining the present state of actual United States occupation—will in substance be stealing China's legitimate territory and supporting United States aggression against Taiwan in opposition to the Chinese people. Any such decision will be unjustifiable and unlawful. Any such decision will in no way shake the resolve of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, nor will it prevent action by the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan.

I wish to call the attention of all those countries which are prepared to follow the

United States on this question: Do not be taken in by the United States; do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States—because if you support United States aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago. The question of the status of Taiwan simply does not exist. However, one question does exist regarding Taiwan, that is the question of armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan. Therefore, to argue that because the peace treaty with Japan is yet to be concluded, the status of Taiwan remains undetermined and must await consideration by the United Nations—to argue thus is to make a mockery of history, of realities, of human intelligence, of international agreements. To argue thus is to make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. This is a preposterous farce, unworthy of refutation, in which Truman makes a mockery of Truman himself.

Next, I would like to say a few words about the absurd argument that United States aggression against Taiwan is aimed at safeguarding security in the Pacific. The United States Government has persistently circulated a fabrication to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war and is intended to "localise" the Korean war and safeguard security in the Pacific. Therefore, according to the United States Government, "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific."

The civil war in Korea was created by the United States. But in no sense whatsoever can the civil war in Korea be used as a justification or pretext for United States aggression against Taiwan. Members of the Security Council: Is it conceivable that because of the Spanish civil war, Italy was entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica? Is it conceivable that civil war in Mexico would confer upon Great Britain the right to occupy the state of Florida of the United States? This is utterly absurd and inconceivable. In fact, the United States Government's policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, no less than its policy of armed aggression against Korea, had been decided upon long before the United States created civil war in Korea. Six days before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, that is, on June 19, 1950, the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial:

"It would seem, then, that the retention of some sort of bases for defending Japan was imperative. On the other hand, the old idea of three or four relatively isolated bases is, of course, nonsense. . . .

"It may well be for reasons such as these that General MacArthur is, according to recent

reports, ready to urge a co-ordinated defence pattern for the whole of the Western Pacific, and not merely for Japan alone. This revives the question of what should or can be done about Formosa. There is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that the island can be held and that, although it is late, it is not too late. . . .

"A vigorous defence programme, on a regional basis, would therefore involve political decisions of the first order. It could require a reversal of our position on Formosa."

An item in the *New York Post* on June 27, went further to say: "Before Johnson and Bradley went to Japan, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had agreed upon a Far Eastern Policy including the following two points: 1. No peace treaty with Japan for the next five years, 2. Adoption of all measures to prevent Formosa from falling into Communist hands."

A dispatch from Tokyo in the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 25, vividly revealed the specific details of this decision:

"A firm stand by the United States on Formosa would, according to Supreme Headquarters, have a 90 per cent chance of deterring Communist invasion because the Chinese themselves are not ready for a head-on tilt with American power. . . .

"Headquarters officials believe that the Communists could be deterred from even starting an attack on Formosa if swift action were taken along about the following lines:

"A strong public pronouncement should be made by the United States that in the light of Soviet participation in Chinese military preparations and in the light of changed world conditions, the final disposition of Formosa—which was a former Japanese possession—must await a Japanese peace treaty. Until a treaty has been concluded, Formosa would be under American or United Nations jurisdiction. This pronouncement should be coupled with the dispatch of a large-scale military mission to Formosa with a limited supply of equipment. The amount of aid would be comparable to that given the Greek Government in its fight on guerrillas. There have also been suggestions that military missions should be supplemented by a show of naval strength. One officer contended that the presence of a single aircraft carrier would certainly deter the Communists from attacking for a long time to come."

No further evidence on this point would appear necessary. Such important accounts regarding the United States Government have never been refuted by the United States Government and, therefore, must be accepted as reliable. What we have quoted above is already sufficient to show that the United States Govern-



ment had decided upon its policy of armed aggression against Taiwan long before it created the war in Korea. Even the concrete steps to be taken in executing this policy, such as the issuance of a strong pronouncement, a show of naval strength, the dispatch of military missions, etc., had been decided upon. The creation of civil war in Korea by the United States Government was designed solely to furnish a pretext for launching armed aggression against Korea and against our territory, Taiwan, and for tightening its control in Viet-Nam and in the Philippines.

Clearly, in carrying out aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan under the pretext of the Korean civil war which was of its own making, the United States Government has vastly extended the scale of the Korean war. The series of provocations following the aggression against Korea and Taiwan by the United States armed forces have fully proved this point. The United States Government is carrying the flames of aggressive war to China according to plan.

Far from localising it, this is, on the contrary, extending the Korean war. The Chinese people have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localising the Korean war. The Chinese people also fervently hope for security in the Pacific area. But the Korean war has been extended and security in the Pacific has been shattered.

Who has been extending the Korean war? Who has shattered security in the Pacific? Have Chinese armed forces invaded Hawaii of the United States or have United States armed forces invaded Taiwan of China? As everyone knows, there are no Chinese forces between Hawaii and the United States mainland. It is precisely because the United States committed aggression simultaneously against Taiwan that the Korean war has been vastly extended. It is precisely because the United States armed forces traversed 5,000 miles of ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered. It is the United States armed aggression launched under the pretext of "maintaining security in the Pacific" that has shattered the security of the Pacific. All the deceptions and lies that have been repeated too many times by Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Austin and the like, to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war, aimed at "localising" the Korean war, and "maintaining security in the Pacific", etc.—all such deceptions and lies are overweighed by a few voluntary confessions of General MacArthur. In his message to the

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on August 28, General MacArthur flagrantly admitted that the United States regarded Taiwan as "the centre" of the United States Pacific front, "an unsinkable aircraft carrier," and that the United States must control Taiwan in order to be able to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore." From this it can readily be seen that the United States armed aggression against Taiwan is definitely not any "temporary measure" arising out of the Korean war, but rather a premeditated plan that had been decided upon long before the civil war in Korea was created. This United States armed aggression was directed towards vastly extending and not towards "localising" the Korean war, towards seeking "to dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore," and not towards doing any such thing as "maintaining the security of the Pacific." This United States armed aggression has outrageously shattered the security in the Pacific.

Further, the United States Government perversely argues that United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan was designed to effect the "military neutralisation" of Taiwan. The United States Government attempted to use this hypocritical slogan as its "justification" for armed aggression against Taiwan in order to deceive the people all over the world, particularly the American people. But the people in the United States and throughout the whole world clearly understand that the liberation of Taiwan, which the Chinese people are determined to carry out, is entirely China's domestic affair, and that no deceptive slogans can conceal the fact that this action on the part of the United States Government constitutes armed intervention in China's domestic affairs.

Let the American people pause to consider: If a country dispatches its naval fleet between Hawaii and the United States mainland, divides up American territory and prevents the United States Government from exercising sovereignty there, while at the same time alleging that such action has been taken for the military neutralisation of Hawaii so as to safeguard security in the Pacific—if a country does all these things, would the American people tolerate them?

Let the American people further pause to consider: At the time when President Lincoln was mopping up the remnant forces of the Southern slave owners, if a foreign power had suddenly stepped in, occupying the State of Virginia by armed forces, while alleging that this was designed for the military neutralisation of Virginia so as to safeguard the security of the American continent—if such a foreign power did all these, would not the American people consider this a flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of the United States? Would



not the American people consider this armed occupation of the territory of the United States?

The armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the United States Government is an act of aggression in that it is flagrant intervention in China's domestic affairs and armed occupation of Chinese territory. It is an open and wanton act of provocation against all the 475 million Chinese people. The Chinese people cannot tolerate this unlawful and criminal act of direct, armed, aggressive war against China by the United States Government. Neither will the American people, in our belief, approve of such criminal provocation. This is because such action on the part of the United States Government is also detrimental to the interests of the American people. Can there be a single one of the peace-loving American people who is willing to serve as cannon fodder and to die just because his government has decided to invade Taiwan 5,000 miles away from America?

The outrageous action of the United States Government in committing unjustified armed aggression against Taiwan has roused the indignation of all righteous people in the world. No lies or deceit concerning the "future status" of Taiwan can dispel this indignation. As a result, the United States Government has been compelled to resort to even bigger lies in order to cover up its outrageous aggression. On July 19, the President of the United States in his message to Congress said:

"In order that there may be no doubt in any quarter about our intentions regarding Formosa, I wish to state that the United States has no territorial ambitions whatever concerning that Island, nor do we seek for ourselves any special position or privilege on Formosa."

Members of the Security Council: We Chinese are a people accustomed to "listening to words and observing deeds." The United States armed forces have invaded the territory of China, Taiwan. Yet the United States President asserted that the United States Government harbours no territorial ambitions concerning Taiwan. Shall we, then, believe in the "words" of the United States Government? Or in its "deeds"? Here we have a situation where, having invaded another country's territory, the aggressor states he has no territorial ambitions on that territory. What, then, is meant by "territorial ambitions"? Let him not make a mockery of the common sense of humanity. The supreme manifestation of territorial ambitions towards any particular state surely is the invasion of its territory. This action of the United States armed forces in invading Taiwan eloquently proves that the United States not only harbours territorial ambitions towards China's territory, Taiwan, but already is realising them. The real intention of the United States is as

MacArthur has confessed—to convert Taiwan into the centre of the United States Pacific front, for the purpose of dominating every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore.

In his letter of August 25 to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Austin, the United States delegate to the United Nations, stated: "The United States has not encroached on the territory of China, nor had the United States taken aggressive acts against China." Very well. Where, then, have the United States 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force gone? Can it be that they have gone to the planet Mars? No. The United States 7th Fleet and 13th Air Force have not gone elsewhere. They are in Taiwan. Can it be that what is referred to as the 7th Fleet and the 13th Air Force simply are not armed forces of the United States? No. The 7th Fleet and the 13th Air Force are without doubt the 7th Fleet of the United States and the 13th Air Force of the United States. Then where is the point at issue? Can there be any aggressive act on earth more outrageous than that of invasion and occupation of another country's territory? It was only such fascist regimes as the German and the Japanese who did not admit that the invasion and occupation of China's Manchuria or the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia were acts of aggression. Members of the Security Council: We cannot tolerate this kind of trickery by the United States Government. We all live in a real world. And we are living after the victory of the anti-fascist war. No amount of sophistry, lies and fabrication can alter the iron-clad fact that the United States armed forces have committed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council: The armed aggression of the United States Government on our territory, Taiwan, is not accidental. It is the inevitable consequence of the United States Government's policy of aggression against China, to interfere in China's internal affairs, and to seek exclusive domination over China—the United States' imperialist policy of long standing.

In the entire history of China's foreign relations, notwithstanding the fact that the peoples of the United States and China have always maintained friendly relations, the American imperialists have always, in their relations with China, been the cunning aggressor. The American imperialists have never been the friends of the Chinese people. They have always aligned themselves with the enemies of the Chinese people. They have always been the enemies of the Chinese people. However shamelessly the American imperialists claim to be friends of the Chinese people, the historical record which distinguishes friend from foe cannot be altered.

Before the Second World War, because of the headstart gained by other imperialists in China, the American imperialists adopted what was known as the "Open Door" and "Equal Opportunity" policy which, though ostensibly different from the policies of the other imperialist powers, was in fact an aggressive policy aimed at sharing the spoils with other imperialists.

After the Second World War, mainly because of the efforts and sacrifices of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the power of Japanese imperialism in China was smashed, and that of the other imperialists in China weakened. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the United States Government stepped up the execution of its policy of sole dominance over China. But the difficulties in realising this policy were formidable, for those who favoured this policy were only the Kuomintang reactionary clique, while the entire Chinese people opposed it. Therefore, in order to carry out their policy, it was necessary for the American imperialists to support the Kuomintang reactionary clique and to oppose the Chinese people with all their power.

After the surrender of imperialist Japan in 1945, the United States Government immediately adopted a policy of open intervention in China's internal affairs, using every means to smooth the way for the Kuomintang reactionary clique to launch a bloody civil war and to slaughter the Chinese people. The United States Government mobilised 113,000 men of its naval, ground and air forces to make landings in the major ports of China, to grab important strategic points from which the Kuomintang reactionary clique could launch the civil war, and to assist the Kuomintang reactionary clique by transporting one million troops to the fronts on which the civil war was to be launched. Moreover, the United States Government equipped, at one time or another, 166 divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary army as the main force for the invasion of the Chinese people's liberated areas; it helped Chiang to equip nine squadrons consisting of 1,720 aircraft, supplied the Chiang navy with 757 vessels, gave material and financial aid to Chiang to the amount of over 6,000 million U.S. dollars—although the United States Government admits only one-third of this figure. It is only because of the large-scale aid it received from the United States Government that the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique dared and was able to carry out a civil war against the people unprecedented in China's history for its scale and cruelty and to slaughter with United States arms several millions of the Chinese people. During Chiang Kai-shek's bloody civil war against the Chinese people, apart from the United States Government's sending over 1,000

military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek to plan the civil war, United States troops stationed in China in fact participated directly in the civil war, and invaded the Chinese people's liberated areas more than 40 times. During this period, the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique signed all kinds of unequal treaties and agreements which reduced China to the status of a colony and military base of the United States. These included such military agreements as the "Aviation Agreement" and "Naval Agreement," and such economic treaties and agreements as the "Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation," the "Bilateral Agreement between China and the United States," and the "Sino-American Agreement on Rural Reconstruction." Furthermore, on the basis of these treaties and agreements, the United States Government secured in Kuomintang China many naval and air bases, and gained control of the military, political, financial and economic branches of the Kuomintang government. American goods flooded China's markets, causing China's national industries to fall into bankruptcy. The monopoly capitalists of the United States, through the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, controlled the life-stream of China's economy. In fact, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary regime was nothing more than a puppet whereby American imperialism controlled China. The Chinese people are completely justified in entering all the tyrannical crimes of Chiang Kai-shek on the account of the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget their blood debt against the American imperialists. American imperialism decidedly cannot escape the grave responsibility which they must bear for all the crimes committed by the Chiang Kai-shek brigands against the Chinese people. The hands of the American imperialists are stained with the blood of the Chinese people. The Chinese people have every right to indict the United States Government for the bloody crimes of slaughtering the Chinese people and enslaving the Chinese nation through its puppet Chiang Kai-shek.

However, all the efforts of the United States Government failed. A relatively complete record of this failure can be found in the White Paper entitled "United States' Relations with China," compiled by the State Department of the United States. But the United States Government, still reluctant to admit that this is its final defeat, has converged for the time being all its activities of aggression against China to Taiwan Island, the lair of the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique in its last desperate struggle.

Shortly after the Japanese surrender, the United States armed forces had already started making various preparations for aggression



against Taiwan under the pretext of assisting the Kuomintang regime in "accepting surrender" and "repatriating war prisoners." What the United States did in Taiwan through the Kuomintang regime, just as what it did in Japan, was first of all to keep intact all Japanese fascist forces and military installations. During the second half of 1947, under the direction of the United States Government, Hasegawa Kiyoshi, former Japanese Governor of Taiwan, Yoshisuke Aikawa, former President of the Japanese Manchuria Industrial Development Corporation, who was released by order of MacArthur from Lugamo Prison, as well as other notorious war criminals of the aggressive war against China, were sent to Taiwan under United States protection. They were sent there to participate in planning the construction of military bases in Taiwan and, under United States instructions, to help train Chiang Kai-shek's troops to slaughter Chinese people. During this period, the United States successively established air bases, liaison radio stations and other installations in Taipei, Sungshan, Taichung, Tainan and Hsinchu airfields. Military aircraft of the United States 13th Air Force in the Pacific were sent out to photograph the topography of the whole of Taiwan Island and to make meteorological surveys. Furthermore, United States military aircraft were constantly stationed in the various airfields in Taiwan. Hsinchu airfield, originally the largest air base in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, became, after the Japanese surrender, the base of the United States aggression forces—the 13th Air Force.

Meanwhile, the United States gradually converted the ports of Keelung and Kaoshiung in Taiwan into its own naval bases. In the spring of 1948, Admiral Charles M. Cooke Jr. arrived in Taiwan with the United States West Pacific Fleet under his command, and compelled the Kuomintang regime—which had intended to cover up the fact that it had sold China's sea-ports—to declare officially that Keelung as well as Tsingtao was a port open to the United States navy. From that time onward, vessels of the United States navy have continually violated the territorial waters of our country around Taiwan and have been stationed in the various ports of Taiwan. In the port of Kaoshiung alone, at one time there were stationed as many as 27 United States naval vessels. In regard to land forces, the United States "Joint Military Advisory Group" long ago sent a large staff of officers in active service to be stationed permanently on Taiwan. In accordance with the joint war plans of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, this military staff is responsible for organising, equipping and training the so-called "new army" of the Kuomintang to be used to attack the Chinese

people. Thus, the United States has in reality taken over the military role of Japan, put Taiwan under its control and converted it into a military base of the United States.

Economically, the United States Government and American monopolies, such as Westinghouse Electric Company, Reynolds' Metal Company, American Express Company and others, have, through various devices, jointly dominated Taiwan's main industries—electric power, aluminum, cement, fertiliser, and others—controlled the economic life of Taiwan, and actually reduced it to a colony of the United States. Under such conditions, it is natural that the United States will not lightly give up Taiwan. Consequently, in order to realise its aim of dominating Taiwan, the United States Government has long been engaged in a variety of vicious political conspiracies. The instigation by the United States of the "Taiwan separatist movement" reached such a height of brazenness that an American government official in Taiwan openly declared that, if the people in Taiwan wanted to relieve themselves of China's rule, the United States was ready to help them. The Chinese people of Taiwan have witnessed with their own eyes all these conspiracies of the United States Government in league with the Kuomintang reactionary remnants. Hence in the last five years, they have repeatedly launched great national liberation movements directed against the United States Government and its puppets. The glorious uprising of the Chinese people of Taiwan on February 27, 1947, declared to the whole world that just as they had not accepted the rule of Japanese imperialism, so they would never accept the rule of the United States imperialism. The people of Taiwan fervently demand their return to the fold of their already liberated motherland and are right at this moment engaged in hard and heroic struggles for the liberation of Taiwan.

In 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of the mainland of China. The vestiges of Chiang Kai-shek's clique fled to Taiwan to use it as a lair for their last desperate struggle. In spite of the United States President Truman's hypocritical statement on January 5, this year, of "non-intervention in the Taiwan situation," the United States Government, in fact, intensified and stepped up its support for the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique herded together in Taiwan. The United States Government continues, through the Kuomintang remnant clique, to try to prevent the People's Republic of China from liberating Taiwan, so that Taiwan may remain under the actual domination of the United States.

But why does not the United States Government continue this course of action—this re-

latively covert form of aggression through the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime—but must instead adopt the form of open and direct armed aggression to attain its objective of controlling Taiwan? There is only one reason—the growing might of the Chinese people and the imminent collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant regime have made it impossible for any indirect form of aggression to ensure the attainment of the United States objective. Thus we can see that the United States act of open armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, is the inevitable outcome of the development of the United States' imperialist policy of aggression against China, a policy of long standing. The act of armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, by the United States Government serves only to prove once again to the Chinese people that United States imperialism regards with hostility all victories of the Chinese people; United States imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

Members of the Security Council: I must further point out that the armed aggression of the United States Government against the Chinese territory, Taiwan, is not an isolated affair. It is an integral part of the over-all plan of the United States Government to intensify its aggression, control and enslavement of the Asian countries and peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Japan, etc. It is a further step in the development of interference by American imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

During the five years after the war, General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces in the Far East, has adopted a series of unlawful measures, abusing the power granted to him as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Japan, and completely violating the Potsdam Declaration, jointly signed by China, the United States, Great Britain, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the "basic post-surrender policy towards Japan" of the Far Eastern Commission. MacArthur arbitrarily sets free the Japanese war criminals, whom the people all over Asia bitterly hate. He revives the power of Japanese fascism, suppresses the movement of the Japanese people for independence and liberation, and refuses to bring about an early over-all peace treaty with Japan. He attempts to gain sole domination over Japan, to enslave the Japanese nation, and to reduce Japan to a United States colony as well as a United States base for a new aggressive war. This policy of the United States Government towards Japan damages not only the interests of the Japanese people, but also the common interests of the Chinese people, the Korean people and the other peoples of Asia. The Chinese

people cannot but strongly protest and resolutely oppose this reactionary policy of the United States Government. Since the Chinese people won their victory on the Chinese mainland, the United States Government has still more frantically carried out a policy of rearming Japan to oppose the Chinese people and the other Asian peoples. At present, the United States Government has not only turned Japan into its main base in the Far East in preparation for aggressive war but it has already begun to use this base as a means to launch aggressive wars against a series of Asian countries. The headquarters of the United States Government for its aggression against Korea and Taiwan is in Japan.

Under the pretext of the Korean civil war, which was of its own making, the United States Government launched armed aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan. From the very outset, the United States armed aggression against Korea gravely threatened China's security. Members of the Security Council, Korea is about 5,000 miles away from the boundaries of the United States. To say that the civil war in Korea would affect the security of the United States is a flagrant deceitful absurdity. But there is only a narrow river between Korea and China. The United States armed aggression in Korea inevitably threatens China's security. That the United States aggression forces in Korea have directly threatened China's security is fully borne out by the facts.

From August 27, to November 10, 1950, the military aircraft of the United States aggression forces in Korea have 90 times violated the territorial air of Northeast China, conducted reconnaissance activities, strafed and bombed Chinese cities, towns and villages, killed and wounded Chinese peaceful inhabitants, and damaged Chinese properties. The details are set out in a separate list. Here I should point out in addition that from 10:30 hours on November 10 to 13:10 hours on November 14, within 100 hours, United States airplanes violated China's territorial air for as many as 28 times. On nine of these occasions they bombed and strafed. The total number of invading planes was 339. In ten of these raids, more than ten planes took part. On one occasion, the number of invading planes was 68. Six Chinese people were injured and over 168 houses were destroyed by bombing and strafing. During the five days from November 15 to November 19, United States airplanes again violated China's territorial air for 33 times. The total number of invading planes was 218. Naval craft of the United States aggression forces against Korea opened fire on and forcibly inspected Chinese merchant shipping on the high seas on September 20.



All these acts of direct aggression against China by the United States aggression forces in Korea are an insolent provocation which the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly lodged accusations with the United Nations, demanding that it immediately take measures to stop such outrageous acts of the United States Government, and to bring about the withdrawal of the United States aggression forces in Korea, so that the issue may not assume more serious proportions. Although because of the resolute support of the delegate of the U.S.S.R., our charge was placed on the agenda of the Security Council on August 31, nevertheless, owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the Security Council has up to now refused to admit the representative of China to state the case and participate in the discussion of this item. And now, the United States forces of aggression in Korea are approaching our Northeast frontiers. The flames of the war of aggression waged by the United States against Korea are swiftly sweeping towards China.

Under such circumstances, the United States armed aggression against Korea cannot be regarded as a matter which concerns the Korean people alone. No, decidedly not. Members of the Security Council: The United States aggression against Korea gravely endangers the security of the People's Republic of China. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is a country bound by close ties of friendship to the People's Republic of China. Only a river separates the two countries geographically. The Chinese people cannot afford to stand idly by in the face of this serious situation brought about by the United States Government's aggression against Korea and the dangerous tendency towards the extension of war. The Chinese people have witnessed with their own eyes Taiwan fall prey to aggression, and the flames of the United States war of aggression against Korea leap towards them. Thus, stirred into righteous anger, they are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korean people. Resistance to United States aggression is based on self-evident principles of justice and reason. The Chinese People's Government sees no reason whatever to prevent their voluntary departure for Korea to participate, under the command of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, in the great liberation struggle of the Korean people against United States aggression.

The United States armed aggression against Taiwan is inseparable from its interference in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nam Republic, its support of the French aggressors and their Bao Dai puppet regime, and its armed attack

on the Viet-Nam people. The people of the entire world know that France is the aggressor against Viet-Nam and that the Bao Dai regime is a typical puppet regime which cannot possibly win any confidence and support from the Viet-Nam people. In supporting this aggressor and this puppet regime against the people of Viet-Nam, the United States Government aims not only at aggression against Viet-Nam but also at threatening the borders of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people cannot but be deeply concerned with the unfolding of the aggressive plot of the United States Government against Viet-Nam.

Members of the Security Council: In making Japan its main war base in the East, launching armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan, carrying out active intervention against Viet-Nam and tightening its control over other countries in Asia, the United States Government is systematically building up a military encirclement of the People's Republic of China, in preparation for further attacks on the People's Republic of China, and to stir up a third world war.

The truth of the matter is not difficult to understand: After the Second World War, the United States imperialist policy on the Chinese mainland has met with miserable failure. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution points out to the oppressed peoples and nations throughout Asia the way of driving imperialism out of Asia and achieving national independence. It shows them with living facts that it is possible to defeat American imperialism, and that without imperialist oppression the Asian peoples not only can survive, but will live a much better life. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution has inspired and encouraged the oppressed peoples throughout Asia in their struggle of liberation for national independence. But American imperialism cannot resign itself to the shattering of its dream of exclusive domination over Asia, nor can it acquiesce to its withdrawal from Asia. Hence American imperialism regards the victorious people's China as the most serious obstacle to its sole domination over Asia.

American imperialism is hostile to all liberation struggles of Asian peoples, and is particularly hostile to the great victory of the Chinese people. It has, therefore, resorted to the form of open and direct armed aggression to realise its fanatic design of attacking New China and dominating the whole of Asia. The American imperialists claim that the United States "defence line" must be pushed to the Yalu River, to the Straits of Taiwan and to the mountainous border regions between China and Viet-Nam, or else the United States would have no security. This is the reason why, they claim, the United States has conducted armed aggression against

Korea and Taiwan and intensified its intervention in Viet-Nam. But in no sense whatever can it be said that the Korean people's struggle for liberation, or the exercise of sovereignty by the People's Republic of China over its own territory, Taiwan, or the volunteering of the Chinese people to resist the United States and aid Korea, or the struggle for national independence of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic against French imperialism and its puppets, affect the security of the United States of North America 5,000 miles away. The Chinese people, steeled by hardship, know fully well that the United States Government has taken this series of aggressive acts with the purpose of realising its fanatical design of dominating Asia and the world. One of the master planners of Japanese aggression, Tanaka, once said: To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. To conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan. Ever since 1895, the course of aggression taken by imperialist Japan has exactly corresponded to the Tanaka plan. In 1895, imperialist Japan invaded Korea and Taiwan. In 1931, imperialist Japan occupied the whole of Northeast China. In 1937, imperialist Japan launched the war of aggression against the whole of China. In 1941, it started the war aimed at the conquest of all Asia. Naturally, as everyone knows, before it had realised this design, Japanese imperialism collapsed. American imperialism, by its aggression against Taiwan and Korea, in practice plagiarises Tanaka's memorandum, and follows the beaten path of the Japanese imperialist aggressors. The Chinese people are maintaining a sharp vigilance over the progress of American imperialist aggression. They have already acquired the experience and learned the lesson from history as how to defend themselves from aggression.

Members of the Security Council: American imperialism has taken the place of Japanese imperialism. It is now following the old track of aggression against China and Asia on which Japanese imperialism set forth in 1894-1895, only hoping to proceed with greater speed. But, after all, 1950 is not 1895; the times have changed, and so have the circumstances. The Chinese people have arisen. The Chinese people who victoriously overthrew the rule on China's mainland of Japanese imperialism and of American imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek, will certainly succeed in driving out the United States aggressors and recover Taiwan and all other territories that belong to China. In the course of 55 years, as a result of the victories of the great Socialist October Revolution of the Soviet Union, of the anti-fascist Second World War, and of the great revolu-

tion of the Chinese people, all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East have awakened and organised themselves. Regardless of the savagery and cruelty of the American imperialist aggressors, the hard struggling people of Japan, the victoriously advancing people of Viet-Nam, the heroically resisting people of Korea, the people of the Philippines who have never laid down their arms and all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East will certainly unite in close solidarity. Yielding neither to the enticements nor to the threats of American imperialism, they will fight dauntlessly on to win the final victory in their struggle for national independence.

The armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and the extension of the aggressive war in Korea by the United States Government has multiplied a thousand fold the Chinese people's hatred and indignation against American imperialism. Since June 27, the thousands upon thousands of protests against this base act of aggression committed by the United States Government—raised by the various democratic political parties, people's organisations, national minorities, overseas Chinese, workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and business men throughout China—have demonstrated the irrepressible wrath of the Chinese people. The Chinese people love peace. But if the United States aggressors should take this as an indication of the weakness of the Chinese people, they would be making a grave mistake. The Chinese people never have been, and never will be, afraid of a war of resistance against aggression. Regardless of any military measures of obstruction by the United States Government, and no matter how it may arrogate for its purpose the name of the United Nations, the Chinese people are firmly determined to recover Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China from the grip of the United States aggressors. This is the irrevocable and immovable will of the 475 million people of China. The United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequences that may arise from its invasion and occupation of Taiwan.

To safeguard international peace and security, and to uphold the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan, and intervention in Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, propose to the United Nations Security Council:

- (1) That the United Nations Security Council openly condemn, and take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal



acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and armed intervention in Korea;

(2) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the United States Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured;

(3) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

These proposals have been translated into English. We request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to distribute them to members of the Security Council, keeping one copy for himself. We ask that a copy should not be given to the reactionary Kuomintang representative, disowned by the People of China. Finally I wish to declare that the President of the Security Council has made use of the fact that the representative of the Central People's Government has only just arrived at Lake Success and is not familiar with the procedure here and of the fact that my government is still not a member of the Security Council. He has conspired with the United States representative to arrange an unreasonable procedure as regards speaking before the Council. The President has thus deprived the representative of the Central People's Government of the right which is due to him to speak first before the Council. I wish to lodge a serious protest against this action.

## The Second Speech

Mr. President: I have announced in my first speech that in attending the present meeting of the Security Council, I will only participate in the discussion of the charge against United States armed aggression on Taiwan and will not participate in the discussion of the so-called "complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea." But it is very curious that the American representative Mr. Austin has in his two speeches evaded answering the charge of the People's Republic of China against United States armed aggression on Taiwan. This proves that the argument in the charge of the People's Republic of China is irrefutable. However, he tried to turn our attention to the item of the so-called "complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea," and in a threatening tone, posed a series of slanderous questions on the basis of Mac-

Arthur's illegal report. I want to tell Mr. Austin that such threats do not intimidate anyone.

The reason for my refusal to participate in the discussion of the so-called "complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea" is very clear. The essence of the Korean question is nothing but an armed intervention in the domestic affairs of Korea by the United States Government and a grave violation of the security of the People's Republic of China. The arrogating of the name of the United Nations by the United States Government is completely illegal. The United Nations Security Council's decision on the Korean question made on June 27 is basically illegal because the two permanent members, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, took no part in it. Under such circumstances, I will decidedly not participate in the discussion of the fundamentally preposterous, so-called "complaint of aggression on the Korean Republic" and it is also entirely unnecessary for me to answer the questions posed by Mr. Austin on the basis of MacArthur's report.

Since the United States Government launched the aggressive war in Korea, the American armed forces invading Korea have violated the territorial air of our country. According to initial figures from August 27 to November 25, there were 200 such violations by over 1,000 aircraft, damaging Chinese property and killing and wounding Chinese people. I want to ask Mr. Austin, is this not aggression? Since June 27, the American 7th Fleet has invaded the territorial waters of our Taiwan in order to prevent the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China from exercising its sovereign rights over Taiwan. I want to ask Mr. Austin, is this not aggression? Since the end of the Second World War, the United States has spent over 6,000 million American dollars to help the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary clique in launching the unprecedentedly bloody civil war and in murdering several million Chinese people with American weapons. I want to ask Mr. Austin, is this not intervention in China's domestic affairs?

Gone is the era when aggression was allowed the imperialists, but resistance was denied the people. The Chinese people are fully confident that they will beat back any imperialists that dare invade China.

For the sake of preserving world peace and the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, I once again call upon the Security Council to accept the proposal of the People's Republic of China as a means to check the aggressive war unleashed by the United States Government and to ensure peace and security in Asia and the world.

# CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON THE PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN

*Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, made the following statement on December 4 on the question of the peace treaty with Japan:*

After studying the memorandum, which Mr. Dulles, Adviser to the United States State Department, handed to Mr. Malik, the Soviet representative to the Security Council, on October 26, 1950, and the memorandum handed by Mr. Malik, on November 20, to Mr. Dulles on the instruction of the Soviet Government, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has authorized me to make the following statement concerning the question of the peace treaty with Japan:

1. Beginning from September 18, 1931, Japanese imperialism carried out an armed aggression against China and, devastating a large area of our country, inflicted great loss of life and property on the people of our country. After eight years of the heroic war of resistance, the Chinese people defeated Japanese imperialism and gained victory in the Anti-Japanese War. Naturally, therefore, the People's Republic of China must take part in preparing, drawing up and concluding the peace treaty with Japan. I solemnly declare that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of the Chinese people, and that it must take part in preparing, drawing up and concluding the peace treaty with Japan. The reactionary remnant clique of the Kuomintang has absolutely no qualification to represent the Chinese people, and because of this, it has no qualification to take part in any discussion or conference regarding the peace treaty with Japan. The Central People's Government consider all activities for the preparation and drafting of a peace treaty with Japan, no matter what their contents and results, are illegal and invalid unless the People's Republic of China takes part in them.

2. According to the February 14, 1950 Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Governments of the two countries, China and the Soviet Union, agreed to strive for the earliest conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan jointly with other Powers which were allies during the Second World War. This shows that the basic policy of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is to strive for the earliest conclusion of a joint peace treaty with Japan, so as to end the state of war with Japan and enable the Japanese people to achieve democracy

and peace at an early date. In contrast with this, the United States Government adopted a policy of procrastination with regard to the peace treaty with Japan in order to carry out its long-term military occupation of Japan. The United States Government has, since 1947, repeatedly attempted to upset the procedure for the conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan, has undermined the principle under which the peace treaty with Japan should first be jointly discussed and prepared by the foreign ministers' conference of the four countries, China, the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, and has also undermined the principle of unanimity of the great Powers. Now the United States Government is not only attempting to undermine the procedure for the peace treaty with Japan, but is further attempting to wreck the basis of a joint peace treaty with Japan.

3. The Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and the basic policies towards Japan after her surrender which were agreed upon and passed by the Far Eastern Commission countries on June 19, 1947—international documents in the signing of which the American Government took part—are the principal basis for a joint peace treaty with Japan. But the first article of the memorandum which the United States Government sent to the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics has gone so far as to stipulate: "Parties: Any or all nations at war with Japan that are willing to make peace on the basis proposed and as may be agreed upon." That is to say, the American Government has openly renounced the basis for the joint peace treaty with Japan laid down in the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and the basic policies of the Far Eastern Commission towards Japan after her surrender. The memorandum of the United States Government evidently attempts to use its own proposals and the so-called attainable agreement as the basis for the peace treaty with Japan instead of international agreements which have been reached by the allied nations such as the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and the Far Eastern Commission's basic policies towards Japan after her surrender. It also attempts to coerce other allies into accepting its own proposals and the so-called



attainable agreement. Otherwise, the United States Government will brazenly go ahead with preparations for a unilateral peace treaty according to its own plans and excluding the other allies.

4. With regard to Taiwan and Penghu Islands, it has been decided that they be restored to China in accordance with the Cairo Declaration. With regard to the southern part of Sakhalin and Kurile Islands, it has been decided that they be restored and handed over to the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the Yalta Agreement. There is absolutely no reason for renewed discussion of these questions of territories which have already been decided. The demand of the United States Government for a renewed decision of these territorial questions is a flagrant violation of established international agreements, a deliberate violation of the legal rights and interests of the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. and an attempt to attain its aggressive aims in the process. This is clearly proved by the fact that the United States Government has already engaged in armed aggression against China's Taiwan. As to the Ryukyu Archipelago and the Bonin Islands, there is no decision regarding trusteeship over these in the Cairo Declaration or the Potsdam Declaration, much less mention of such a thing as the appointment of "the United States as the administering authority." Such ambitions of the United States Government constitute nothing but a false borrowing of the name of the United Nations to carry out the long-term occupation of the Ryukyu Archipelago and the Bonin Islands and to establish military bases for aggression in the Far East.

5. Occupation troops should be withdrawn from Japan, according to the Potsdam Declaration. But the United States Government has not shown the slightest indication from beginning to end that the American occupation forces have any intention of withdrawing from Japan at an early date, but, instead, have been using Japan as a war base to invade Korea and China. The United States Government, in its memorandum to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, demands the inclusion in the Japanese peace treaty of permission to continue co-operative responsibility between Japanese facilities and United States forces for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area. This is identical with coercing the Japanese people into accepting the stationing of United States troops for a long period in Japan to carry on aggression against the peoples of Asia.

6. In the Far Eastern Commission's basic policy regarding Japan after her surrender, it was originally set out that Japan would not

have any army, navy or air force, secret police or gendarmerie, that is to say, Japan must not be re-armed. Nevertheless, just as the United States Government has today openly re-armed Western Germany, it is now openly re-arming Japan. As is generally known, the United States occupation troops are rebuilding the Japanese army under the pseudonym of the Japanese police; rebuilding the Japanese navy by means of the Maritime Security Bureau; preserving and reconstructing Japanese naval ports; rebuilding the Japanese air force by the training of Japanese aviators, and preserving and reconstructing Japanese air bases. American occupation authorities are rebuilding the aggressive forces of Japan by releasing a large number of top war criminals, lifting the purge, and restoring a large number of fascist elements to their activities.

The United States Government, through its military control, attempts to make Japan a United States colony, and drive Japan forward as the United States' tool in aggression against the Asian peoples.

7. In order to improve the livelihood of the Japanese people, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China strongly desires that Japan's peaceful industry develop on the basis of serving the Japanese people. At the same time, in accordance with the basic policies stipulated in regard to Japan after her surrender by the Far Eastern Commission, the economic basis of Japan's military strength must be destroyed and not allowed to revive. But actually, working in the interests of American monopoly capital, the American occupation authorities are reviving Japan's war industry and developing and utilizing it in order to carry out aggression against Korea and China's Taiwan. At the same time, Japan's peaceful industry is deteriorating. This policy of the United States Government of stifling Japan's peaceful industry and encouraging her war industry, only results in undermining the peaceful life of the Japanese people and in intensifying the exploitation of the economy of the Japanese nation.

8. The plan envisaged in the memorandum of the United States Government regarding the peace treaty with Japan flagrantly violates the common war aims of the allied nations which opposed Japan, and, furthermore, violates all international agreements on policy towards Japan, utterly disregards the fundamental interests of the Chinese people who fought a heroic war against Japan and also disregards the aspirations of the Japanese people for the future. The United States Government has only the utterly selfish aim of forcibly occupying Japan, enslaving the Japanese people and transforming Japan into an American colony and a military base for aggression against the peoples of Asia.

Therefore, the proposals set forth in the memorandum of the United States Government on the question of peace treaty with Japan do not conform to the interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The Chinese people strongly desire the early conclusion of a joint peace treaty with Japan together with the other allied nations of the Second World War period. But the basis of the peace treaty must entirely conform to the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the

Potsdam Declaration and the basic policies therein prescribed towards Japan after her surrender. Only a peace treaty with Japan based on such international agreements can bring about the democratisation of Japan, can eliminate the aggressive forces of Japan. Only a democratic Japan, free from the control of foreign influence, can contribute to the peace and security of Asia.

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